More from the South

The Racial Myths With Which The White Upper Classes Console Themselves, Pages 3-4.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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Canute Wins Again on the East River

United Nations, N. Y.

There are moments when one is tempted to believe that the molders of American foreign policy think they can solve the problem of living with Russia and China as they might solve the problem of what to do with an upstart who had somehow gotten into an exclusive club. They seem to think that if the Revolution of our time can be treated with sufficient hauteur, as a low and vulgar fellow with whom no gentleman would associate, the intruder will slink away. This seemed to be the design behind Mr. Lodge's demeanor when he rose on a point of order during the bitter United Nations debate on Communist China to rebuke Mr. Gromyko for suggesting that only pressure from the United States was maintaining a majority for the pretense that Chiang Kai-shek still represents China. Like the icy condescension of the State Department white paper of August 9 on why we do not recognize Peking, and Mr. Eisenhower's refusal (in between the cup races and a golf match) to receive Mr. Krushchev's latest, Mr. Lodge's point of order was intended to make our adversaries feel like plebeian bounders ignorant of how to behave among their betters.

No Rapier-Like Repartee

Unfortunately these tactics required talents Mr. Lodge does not possess. They called for the retort discourteous, polished to such a razor-like edge that the poor victim doesn't realize until later that his throat has been cut. All Mr. Lodge achieved was an indignant burble. The first Henry Cabot Lodge was a scholar in politics; his grandson is a Babbitt in diplomacy. He has neither wit nor style. Mr. Gromyko doesn't sparkle either, so the exchange between them was no rapier-like repartee. "We are certainly aware," Mr. Gromyko had said in his pedestrian way, "that the majority of countries espousing the United States Government's position in the question of China's representation in the United Nations are doing this only for the reason that they are under United States pressure." Mr. Lodge rushed to the rostrum to protest, "Is not that a polite, charming thing to say about the members of this body who happen to stand with us out of their convictions? Is that not a delicate, gentlemanly way for one Member of a body to talk to his colleagues?" Any moment one expected him to announce that he was filing a formal complaint against Mr. Gromyko with the house committee. Mr. Lodge only succeeded in making himself look silly because everyone knew that what Mr. Gromyko said was true. Our closest allies, Britain and Canada, made it clear to the Assembly later that same afternoon that they were voting without conviction. Sir Pierson Dixon and Mr. Smith by their short perfunctory statements in support of the U. S. (less than 300 words apiece) demonstrated a striking lack of enthusiasm for our China policy particularly since the UN after dutifully voting not to recognize China will soon be asked to mediate the Formosa dispute.

The Humane First Lady of Formosa

"Q. Mme. Chiang, if . . . nuclear weapons are used, what reaction would there be among Asians to the use of nuclear weapons on Asians?

"A. I have an interesting example. I know of a person, one of the refugees who came from the mainland, and he told me, he said the people of mainland China were saying, Why doesn't the government of the Republic of China use nuclear weapons on the mainland?

"Q. But Asians have been quite resentful of the fact that nuclear weapons have been used only against Asians, haven't they?

"A. Well, I have not heard that. I think it's not a question of Asians or not; I think it's a question of necessity. I think war is a terrible thing, but if war has to be war, then the point is to get through with it as quickly as possible."

—Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, Meet the Press, Sept. 21.

Mr. Lodge did not leap to a point of order when Mr. Krishna Menon for India, speaking just before the vote was taken, accused Mr. Lodge of presenting a false picture of what was really happening on Quemoy. Mr. Lodge said 300,000 rounds of shells had been fired on Quemoy and 1,000 civilians killed. Mr. Menon declared there was no evidence "except in propagandistic minds" that war was being waged at such a tempo. Mr. Menon said that even *Time* Magazine, close as it was to the China Lobby, had discounted Chinese Nationalist reports about the shelling and in its September 15 issue said that "Civilian dead since August 23 was now approaching 40," a long way from the 1,000 figure used by Mr. Lodge. Mr. Menon said that the shelling of August 23 was a response to a big buildup in Nationalist forces from 30,000 to 80,000 after the Geneva talks broke down earlier in the year and to increased Nationalist activity against the mainland early in August. He said Peking took action in self-protection and implied that the American public was not getting the whole truth. Mr. Menon's thesis was borne out by two items in that day's (Sept. 23) papers. The *Washington Post* published a *Chicago Daily News* dispatch from Formosa that Nationalist censorship had become so restrictive that U. S. correspondents were not allowed even to talk with the Americans who had risked their lives to take supplies into Quemoy. The *New York Post* published a memo sent to editors by the Associated Press saying that correspondents in Formosa were "trying to report one war while fighting another. The second is the battle to get information about the first." The AP memo said "the clampdown has led to some doubts about the Nationalist claims of successful

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convoys and air drops: Prior to the clampdown, four consecutive supply missions failed; since, all missions have been announced as successful." It is a pity so few papers mentioned Mr. Menon's challenge to the trustworthiness of Mr. Lodge's information, just as so few of them covered the Asian and neutral European protest of which we offer samples in the boxes on this page.

We're Becoming Chiang's Satellite

Mr. Malik as President of the Assembly had just finished appealing to the delegates to keep their arguments "as moderate, as measured, as unprovocative . . . as possible, because the atmosphere is sufficiently charged" when Mr. Tsiang for Nationalist China rose to speak with inflammatory rhetoric. The spokesmen for a regime whose leading figures salted away millions in banks abroad before fleeing—and whose humane First Lady advocates the nuclear bombing of her own people—spoke of "moral values." The voice of Chiang's police state spoke of "surveillance, repression, torture and terror." Listening to him, one thought how ironical it was that while the U. S. public was obsessed with fear of "infiltration" and subversive conspiracy, it was this regime which had infiltrated Washington and subverted government. How much of McCarthyism was due to the conspiracy and the money of the Chiang crowd! All who opposed it, from John Stuart Service, Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent up to George Marshall himself, had been smeared and driven out of public life. Chiang's lobbyists created the atmosphere in which politicians have become fearful of discussing China policy too openly. And now, when we may be plunged into war on their behalf, our press is gagged by them. Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News* quoted one U. S. adviser as excusing press restrictions by saying "We are guests in this country and must respect the wishes of the Nationalist Government." We have become *their* satellite.

Thanks to the fact that most of the world needs American loans, Chiang through his influence over a cowed Washington is still able to muster a majority in the United Nations. But the majority grows slimmer and more restive year by year. On one vote, to reject India's motion to put the question of Chinese representation on the agenda, the pro-Chiang forces were for the first time a minority of the Assembly. The roll call of the 81 member nations showed 40 votes to reject, 28 opposed and 13 abstentions. On the next vote, not to consider the Chinese question at all at this session, Ethiopia, Mexico and New Zealand switched from abstention to in favor (while Malaya switched from in favor to abstention) and the outcome was 42 for, 28 against with 11 abstentions. On the final vote, Malaya and Peru switched from abstention to in favor, giving a total of 44 in favor, 28 against and 9 abstentions. The important point is that as compared with last year the U. S. has lost five votes: Austria, Iceland, Iraq, Libya and Greece. Canute cannot hope to win many more victories on the East River, unless Chiang can precipitate war in the meantime. There lies the danger.

Asian Neutral Voices at the UN

"SIR CLAUDE COREA (Ceylon). Would it not be wise, after eight years, to reconsider the General Assembly's condemnation of the Chinese People's Republic for its actions in Korea? Was that government to be shut out for all eternity because of 'one lapse'? Christians should remember that forgiveness was a divine virtue. 'We should not keep anger and hate in our bosoms for all time,' he said.

"U THANT (Burma) said . . . the United Nations had 'branded the People's Republic of China as a wicked outlaw,' and on the other hand, was now complaining that that government was 'acting as an outlaw' . . . Excluding Peking from the United Nations damaged not Peking but the United Nations. . . . U Thant said China had 'a constant fear of overt aggression from outside.' That fear was the greatest single factor in rallying the people of mainland China to 'the call of Peking.' Therefore, it seemed to him that a get-tough-with-Peking policy was the worst possible one, psychologically.

"PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK, Prime Minister of Cambodia said the American Press had reported on U. S. efforts to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to stop using the offshore islands as bases for harassing the Chinese mainland. It was difficult therefore to speak of aggression by Peking."

—UN General Assembly Debate, Sept. 23.

Some Great Neutral Powers Plead for UN Discussion of the China Problem

"Can we have effective disarmament without the participation and cooperation of the 600 million people of China? Can we achieve a ban on nuclear weapons tests under effective international control without the participation of the People's Republic of China? . . . Moreover, can we discuss safeguards against the possibility of surprise attack while ignoring China?"

—Mr. Sastroamidjojo (Indonesia).

"The issue is, in our opinion, whether this Assembly is to feel free to debate openly and comprehensively any important question affecting international relations.

"There can be no doubt that the question of whether Communist China should or should not be represented here is one of major importance . . . the situation in the Far East . . . is an immediate threat to local peace and to world peace. Indeed, I wonder whether refusal to discuss it in previous years may not have contributed to the present dangerous situation in the Far East.

"Those of us who represent functioning democracies and who wish to see this Assembly as a model and example of democratic procedure may perhaps ask ourselves how a question of the same relative importance would be handled in our own parliaments. Could a government properly refuse to allot Government time for such a debate?"

—Mr. Aiken (Ireland).

"As long as the United Nations treats the Taiwan Government as the legitimate Government of all of China, the United Nations has no relation whatsoever with the mainland of China and its approximately 600 million inhabitants. The Swedish delegation considers that the General Assembly should at least be given an opportunity to discuss the serious practical disadvantages which follow from this anomaly."

—Mrs. Rossel (Sweden).

"The countries which recognize the People's Republic of China have a population of 1,040 millions. If one adds to that figure the population of the People's Republic of China itself, which today is 639 million, one arrives at a figure of 1,679 million people, of a total world population of 2,737 million. . . . We are really ignoring the views of a large majority of the populations of the world."

—Mr. Krishna Menon (India).

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Second Installment of Our Report on A Flying Trip to Little Rock and Arkansas

The Upper Class White South in A Mississippi River Town

(The Second in A Series from Arkansas)

During our first two days in Little Rock, our new friends, Negro and white, all expressed a joking alarm that seemed to mask a real anxiety when we suggested we'd like to go down into the delta country on Sunday. It was as if urban Little Rock looked on the plantation region in the river bottom lands to the southeast as a dark continent in which anything might happen. Some offered to ship our remains home; others hoped we would come back with our limbs intact.

We set out early on a bright Sunday morning feeling just a little apprehensive ourselves. Our goal 150 miles southeast was Helena, the State's one port on the Mississippi, a town Mark Twain mentioned in his "Life on the Mississippi." Little Rock friends assured us we would see a real old "Confederate" town there. The trip, across flat rich lands the first French explorers named the Grand Prairie, was uneventful, and we encountered nothing more alarming than a burly attendant on the ancient ferry across the White River at St. Charles. Our efforts to draw him out on the more pressing constitutional issues of the day evoked only unfriendly monosyllables, and we made a quick getaway. The guidebook indicated that it was a bad spot for Yankees. There on June 7, 1862, a Federal ironclad came up the White River, running a gauntlet of rebel shore batteries unscathed until someone on board unwisely opened a porthole. Captain Joseph Fry, the Confederate commander, an ordnance expert out of West Point, "plumped a cannon ball through the opening, smashing a steam pipe and killing nearly 150 soldiers packed in the ironclad."

Not Very Picturesque

Helena, to our disappointment, turned out to be no more picturesque than Little Rock. We drove through the commonplace main street—"Cherry Street"—of a small river town, asleep in the Sabbath sun, with no sign of antebellum grandeur. We went through the "gate" in the high levee, across the Missouri Pacific tracks and down to the muddy waters of the broad and unlovely stream where cars waited for the ferry to the Mississippi side. Willows grew thick on a long mudbank island near the Arkansas side. Except for the ferry pier there was nothing to suggest the "seaport" Helena likes to call itself. We turned back disenchanted to "Nick's," a Greek restaurant at the foot of Cherry Street, and while waiting for lunch telephoned the editor of the local daily. He wasn't in but I reached his father, its publisher, and told him I had two visiting British reporters with me and we wondered whether we could talk to him or his son while we were in town. Within a few minutes both father and son turned up at Nick's to make us welcome.

They were most hospitable. Both were widely travelled; a map across one wall of the dining room in their comfortable home on the outskirts of town had red buttons pinned on it to show the places they had visited. There were red buttons all over Europe and all around the periphery of Asia, including Taipeh and Bangkok. The father recalled that he had been a guest in London at a dinner given by the publisher of the paper one of my friends represented, and insisted that we be his guests at dinner. We were taken for a ride on a small cabin cruiser on the Mississippi, and then the younger man in his convertible showed us the town, including its own antebellum mansion, and the old Confederate cemetery high up on a bluff where a few Yankees who fell in the Battle of Helena are also buried. We saw the local synagogue ("Jews began to come here with their slaves from Kentucky before the war," our friend told us). The town also has a large colony of Lebanese. Helena used to be three-fourths Negro and is now 60 per cent black. In the back streets we saw row after row of unpainted row shacks, much like those of a mining town, where Negroes lived. "They wouldn't live in better houses if you gave it to them," our friend assured us. Helena is in that part of Arkansas which is as much "deep South" as neighboring Mississippi and Louisiana. Like them it has no school integration problem because no Negro dares file suit. But our friend said, almost boastingly, that Negroes had forced the town by litigation to provide a modern Negro high school.

Just Dyin' To Come Home

At the Helena country club where other members of the family gathered for drinks and dinner with us everybody said "nigger" as a matter of course. "Our better class of niggers have left," one lady told us. There was a steady stream of migration northward. But to believe the anecdotes

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Repealing the 5th Amendment

"Art. I, Sec. 9. Should any witness [subpoenaed by the States Rights Commission] refuse to testify to any fact, or refuse to produce any book, document or paper touching which he is to be examined, on the ground that he will thereby incriminate himself, or that it will tend to discredit or render infamous, the Commission shall consider such refusal as part of the evidence and shall inform the public of the refusal of such witness to so testify, and the facts and circumstances under which such refusal shall be made."

—States Rights (Johnson) Amendment to Arkansas State Const. to be voted on next November.

To Restore the Lily White Democratic Party Primary and Bar Negroes from Politics

"Art. IV, Sec. 7. No person shall vote at any primary election, or in any convention, or other political assembly held for the purpose of nominating any candidate for public office, unless he is at the same time a registered voter AND A CERTIFIED MEMBER [emphasis added] of the political party holding such election, convention or assembly, and has such other and additional qualifications [racial?] as may be prescribed by the party of which candidates for public office are to be nominated. All ballots in any election or primary election must designate the race—either Caucasian or Negro—of all candidates appearing thereon. No provision of this amendment shall be construed as . . . binding any political party in this State to any national political party bearing the same name."

—States Rights (Johnson) Amendment to Arkansas State Const. to be voted on next November.

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The White Racial Folk Tales About the Negro Migration Northward

(*Continued from Page Three*)

one would think the long distance wires from St. Louis, Chicago and New York were clogged with calls collect from homesick migrants to their white "folks" asking them to please send fare to come home. So-and-so had gotten such a call only recently and simply refused to take it; the tone implied that the gates of paradise had been shut forever on the faithless one. We were told a story about the hungry Southern Negro who went for help from door to door in Chicago in vain until at one door he heard a voice yell, "You black bastard get around to the back" and sighed with relief, "ah's found friends at last." Such are the folk tales with which the white South comforts itself.

Some of Their Best Friends

There was hardly anyone who did not assure us at some point in the conversation that some of their best friends were niggers. The publisher told us he was sending a nigger boy through medical school in Chicago; the boy recently asked $100 for books and he had sent it to the student. When a British reporter suggested that the Negro must be a brilliant boy, he seemed to have hit a jarring note. "He'll get along," his benefactor said grudingly. He told us a story of a local Negro who had gone to Little Rock and phoned him from there (much to the surprise of his Negro friends) to ask for $10, which was sent and duly repaid. This was related as another instance of the generous way in which Negroes were treated. One woman said she couldn't have a better neighbor than the Negro woman who lived across the backyard from her home. "There isn't anything I wouldn't do for her or she wouldn't do for me," she said. "But of course I wouldn't think of asking her into my parlor. It would only embarrass both of us."

One man told us that Negroes were a problem because they just couldn't control themselves sexually, and related a story of a Negro paternity case in which four Negroes each offered to pay a share toward the support of an illegitimate child since all four felt they had been partly responsible for its birth. "Sure our niggers vote," said another man gleefully. "We paid their poll taxes and lined 'em up to vote for the liquor interests in a recent local option election." A younger woman, a nurse, said she had been working among the Negroes "by choice" for the local health service. Why? "They're so grateful." Like all these people, she seemed quite sure she knew what Negroes were really thinking. "They've been a little belligerent lately, since this school trouble started," she said. "But they change when they see you're friendly." She seemed a warm-hearted and most capable person. But she was sure that "all the trouble" in the South had been caused by a few white persons in the North who "put the NAACP up to it."

We'll be glad to mail free copies of this week's issue and last week's first installment on Little Rock to any friends if you will send us long stamped self-addressed envelopes.

"Give Us More Time"

Both the gray-haired father of the family and his wife, a kindly and motherly woman, felt that integration "has got to come" but pleaded "only you've got to give us more time." When I asked the father whether most of the people in his generation and class felt that way, he said they did. But his wife was non-committal, said she was "out of things" and didn't know. It was disappointing to read in that same day's paper two short editorials the elderly man had written. One blamed the latest Supreme Court school decision on Chief Justice Warren's wish to fulfill "the desires of his old political buddy, Harry Bridges, who wants to and does stir up all the trouble he can in the United States in the interests of his beloved Communist Russia." The other said, "Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has gone to Moscow. Moscow is a good place for Old Big Mouth and we hope she stays there." The portrait of these people would be incomplete without noting that they shared the upper class Southerner's contempt for his own poorer white brethren. "Why some of them are so low," one lady told us at dinner, "that niggers won't associate with them." All of our new friends in Helena were strong supporters of Governor Faubus.

(*More Next Week*)

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